

## Message Text

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ACTION H-03

INFO OCT-01 EUR-08 ISO-00 SS-07 NSC-06 AID-01 /026 W  
-----016018 231228Z /41

R 191459Z AUG 77  
FM AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9190  
AMCONSUL LENINGRAD  
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
AMEMBASSY BERLIN  
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE  
AMEMBASSY SOFIA  
AMEMBASSY WARSAW

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 1 OF 2 BUDAPEST 2819

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (SECTION INFORMATION ADDED)

E.O. 11652: N/A  
TAGS: OREP (MCGOVERN, GEORGE) HU  
SUBJECT: CODEL MCGOVERN

REF: BUDAPEST 2784

1. SENATOR MCGOVERN AND PARTY VISITED BUDAPEST AUG 13-16  
SENATOR AND HIS PARTY WERE MET AT AIRPORT BY DEPUTY FOREIGN  
MINISTER JANOS NAGY AND OTHER FONOFF OFFICIALS. DURING  
VISIT CODEL WAS RECEIVED BY ACTING PRIME MINISTER GYORGY  
ACZEL AND ACTING PRESIDENT OF NATIONAL ASSEMBLY JANOS  
PETER. CODEL ALSO CALLED ON HSWP CENTRAL COMMITTEE SECRETARY  
ANDRAS GYENES, AGRICULTURE MINISTER PAL ROMANY, AND ACTING  
MINISTER OF  
FOREIGN AFFAIRS PAL RACZ. NAGY HOSTED AN INFOR-  
MAL DINNER EVENING OF AUG 13 AT KALOCSA ROOM OF NEW HILTON  
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HOTEL AND PETER A LUNCH ON AUG 15 AT GOVERNMENT GUEST HOUSE  
ON THE VAR. AMBASSADOR GAVE A RECEPTION AT HIS RESI-  
DENCE EVENING OF AUG 15 FOR MCGOVERN PARTY AND CODEL  
EILBERG, UNUSUALLY WELL ATTENDED BY HUNGARIANS.

2. JUST PRIOR TO HIS DEPARTURE MCGOVERN GAVE ON-THE-  
RECORD PRESS CONFERENCE (SEE REFTTEL) DURING WHICH HE

REPLIED TO QUESTIONS ON DETENTE, MFN, NEUTRON BOMB, THE CROWN OF ST. STEPHEN, AND HUNGARY'S ROLE IN EAST-WEST EQUATION.

3. FROM TALKS WHICH CODEL HAD WITH HIGH-RANKING HUNGARIAN OFFICIALS HUNGARIANS SEEMED CONCERNED ABOUT PRES CARTER'S HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY AND, FROM THEIR VANTAGE POINT, ITS ADVERSE EFFECTS ON DETENTE. THEY APPEARED WORRIED ABOUT THE FUTURE OF THE US-USSR DIALOGUE ON PEACE IN OUR TIME. HUNGARIANS EXPRESSED FEAR THAT PRESIDENT'S EMPHASIS ON HUMAN RIGHTS IS DIRECTED PRIMARILY AT SOVIET UNION AND THAT IT CONSTITUTES BUT A THIN DISGUISE FOR ANTI-COMMUNISM AND ANTI-SOVIETISM. HUNGARIANS EMPHASIZED THEIR ACUTE CONCERN RE FUTURE OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS AND DETENTE, UNDERSCORING SIMULTANEOUSLY THE TRAGEDY OF HUNGARY'S INVOLVEMENT AS A SMALL POWER CAUGHT UP IN MAELSTROM OF TWO WORLD WARS. THEY SPOKE ABOUT HUNGARY'S SINCERE INTEREST IN DETENTE AND NECESSITY TO CONTINUE SOVIET-AMERICAN DIALOGUE. THEY MENTIONED REPEATEDLY THEIR INTEREST IN CONTINUING IMPROVEMENT IN HUNGARIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS BUT OBSERVED THAT IF WHAT THEY SAW AS PRESENT TURN-DOWN IN SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS CONTINUES, THIS WILL BECOME INCREASINGLY DIFFICULT.

4. SENATOR MCGOVERN ASSURED HUNGARIANS THAT PRES LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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CARTER IS DEVOTED TO CONTINUATION OF DETENTE SEEING IN IT THE ONLY REALISTIC ALTERNATIVE TO WAR. HE POINTED OUT THAT PRESIDENT'S HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY APPLIED TO ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD AND NOT JUST THE SOVIET UNION. HE EMPHASIZED THAT THE PRESIDENT IS NOT INTERESTED IN RETURNING TO THE COLD WAR AND HE URGED THE HUNGARIANS TO TAKE A CAREFUL READING OF THE PRESIDENT'S CHARLESTON SPEECH. HE SAID THAT ESSENTIALLY PRESIDENT'S POLICY IS SAME AS THAT PURSUED BY FORMER PRES FORD, ALTHOUGH THERE MAY BE SOME DIFFERENCES IN STYLE.

5. ON BILATERAL RELATIONS SENATOR MCGOVERN EXPRESSED PLEASURE AT PROGRESS ACHIEVED IN RECENT YEARS, MENTIONING SPECIFICALLY SETTLEMENT OF WWI AND WWII DEBTS, SIGNING OF CULTURAL AND SCIENTIFIC AGREEMENT, AND DEVELOPMENT OF A POLITICAL DIALOGUE. SENATOR SAID HE THOUGHT HUNGARY COULD ACT AS A BRIDGE BETWEEN EAST AND WEST. HE POINTED OUT HUNGARY'S HISTORIC RELATIONSHIP WITH THE WEST AND ITS SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP NOW WITH THE SOVIET UNION. HE SUGGESTED THAT PERHAPS HUNGARY COULD EXPLAIN SOVIET CONCERNS TO U.S. AND AMERICAN CONCERNS TO SOVIETS. THIS LATTER STATEMENT

WAS OMITTED FROM VERNACULAR PRESS BUT APPEARED IN  
ENGLISH-LANGUAGE BROADCAST OF RADIO BUDAPEST AND IN  
ENGLISH-LANGUAGE VERSION OF DAILY NEWS.

5. HIGHLIGHTS OF TALK WITH ACTING PRIME MINISTER  
ACZEL WERE HIS COMMENTS ON CROWN, ON MFN, AND ON  
HUNGARIAN-AMERICAN COOPERATION. ACZEL APPEALED FOR  
RETURN OF THE CROWN, OBSERVING AT ONE POINT THAT U.S.  
CERTAINLY WOULD BE OUTRAGED IF ANOTHER COUNTRY HAD IN  
ITS POSSESSION THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE AND  
SAID IT WOULD RETURN IT WHEN IT HAD DECIDED THAT ITS  
RELATIONS WITH U.S. HAD IMPROVED SUFFICIENTLY. ON MFN ACZEL  
CRITICIZED TERMINOLOGY, DECLARING THAT U.S. SHOULD  
AVOID PLACING CERTAIN COUNTRIES IN SPECIAL PRESTIGIOUS  
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POSITIONS, A REMARK MADE WITH ROMANIA CLEARLY IN MIND.  
ON BILATERAL RELATIONS ACZEL SAID U.S. MUST ACCEPT  
HUNGARY AS A SINCERE PARTNER INTERESTED IN IMPROVEMENT  
OF RELATIONS IN ALL FIELDS. HE SUGGESTED PREVENTION  
OF HEART DISEASE AND CANCER RESEARCH AS POSSIBLY PROFIT-  
ABLE FIELDS FOR COOPERATION.

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ACTION H-03

INFO OCT-01 EUR-08 ISO-00 SS-07 NSC-06 AID-01 /026 W  
-----129519 230500Z /21

R 191459Z AUG 77  
FM AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9191  
AMCONSUL LENINGRAD  
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
AMEMBASSY BERLIN  
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE  
AMEMBASSY SOFIA GNPTE  
AMEMBASSY SOFIA

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E.O. 11652: N/A

SUBJECT: CODEL MCGOVERN

7. ACTING PRESIDENT OF PARLIAMENT PETER URGED U.S. TO RETURN CROWN, ADDING THAT AS A HUNGARIAN HE THOUGHT IT SUITED U.S. PURPOSES TO DO SO. IN RESPONSE TO SENATOR MCGOVERN'S QUESTION WHETHER PETER SAW A CHANCE OF PROGRESS IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS, HE REPLIED THAT HE WAS MODERATELY OPTIMISTIC. GOOD SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS ARE MANDATORY IF THERE IS TO BE PROGRESS, HE SAID, ADDING THAT CONFIDENCE OF EACH PARTY IN HIS PARTNER WAS IMPORTANT. SITUATION TODAY HAS BECOME MORE COMPLICATED BY PRESIDENT'S EMPHASIS ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND THERE HAS DEVELOPED A LOSS OF SOME OF THE CONFIDENCE THAT PREVIOUSLY EXISTED. CERTAIN OBJECTIVE FACTORS REMAIN BUT THERE IS NOW LESS CONFIDENCE ON BOTH SIDES. HE ADMIRES PRESIDENT'S SERIOUSNESS AND HIS OPEN-MINDEDNESS. IF THERE IS NO POSSIBLE

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BILITY TO RESTORE CONFIDENCE ON BOTH SIDES, THERE THERE ARE NO REAL PROSPECTS FOR DISARMEMENT , HE DECLARED.

8. GYENES UNDERSCORED WHAT HE CALLED TWO CARDINAL PRINCIPLES OF HUNGARIAN FOREIGN POLICY-PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM AND PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE. THIS IS NOT A MERE PROPAGANDA SLOGAN, HE SAID. HUNGARY GENUINELY SEEKS GOOD RELATIONS WITH STATES WITH DIFFERENT SOCIAL SYSTEMS WHILE AT SAME TIME BROADENING ITS COOPERATION WITH ITS SOCIALIST PARTNERS. ON ARMS RACE GYENES SAID SOCIALIST COUNTRIES ARE CONCERNED THAT IF ARMS RACE CONTINUES WHOLE OF ECONOMIC/SOCIAL PROGRESS WILL COME TO A HALT. SOCIALIST COUNTRIES HAVE URGENT ECONOMIC PROBLEMS REQUIRING ATTENTION, GYENES SAID, AND THEY NEED ALL THE RESOURCES AT THEIR DISPOSAL. HE OBSERVED THAT CAPITALIST COUNTRIES ALSO HAVE SIMILAR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS REQUIRING ATTENTION. FOR THIS REASON BOTH SIDES HAVE A STAKE IN REDUCING ARMS EXPENDITURES.

9. DISCUSSION WITH ACTING FOREIGN MINISTER RACZ CENTERED, AS MIGHT BE EXPECTED, ON BILATERAL RELATIONS AND ON PROSPECTS FOR CONTINUED DETENTE. RACZ EXPRESSED HUNGARIAN INTEREST IN CONTINUED IMPROVEMENT IN RELATIONS WITH U.S. ON PROSPECTS FOR DETENTE HE ADOPTED SOMEWHAT PESSIMISTIC ATTITUDE. HE EXPLAINED AT SOME LENGTH SOVIET VIEWPOINT RE HUMAN RIGHTS, IN EFFECT ASKING FOR AMERICAN UNDERSTANDING OF IMPACT PRESIDENTIAL

POLICY HAD ON SOVIET LEADERSHIP. GENERAL THRUST WAS THAT EMPHASIS ON HUMAN RIGHTS WAS BUT A THIN DISGUISE FOR ANTI-COMMUNISM AND ANTI-SOVIETISM. SENATOR MCGOVERN EXPLAINED PRESIDENT'S POLICY, NOTING IN PROCESS, THAT PRESIDENT'S HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY HAD UNIVERSAL APPLICATION, THAT SOVIETS SHOWED NO RELUCTANCE TO CRITICIZE THE U.S. AND LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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CAPITALIST SYSTEM AND THUS SHOULD NOT BE UPSET IF AMERICANS FOUND ELEMENTS IN SOCIALIST SYSTEM THEY DO NOT LIKE. IF SOVIETS WERE AS DEVOTED TO DETENTE AND TO REACHING AGREEMENT ON ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT MEASURES, HE SAID, THEN WHY HAVE THEY ADOPTED THE STAND-OFFISH ATTITUDE THEY HAVE? WHEN SOVIETS DID NOT LIKE SECRETARY VANCE'S DISARMAMENT PROPOSALS IN MOSCOW, WHY DIDN'T THEY MAKE COUNTERPROPOSALS? THAT'S THE WAY GOOD FAITH NEGOTIATIONS NORMALLY PROCEED.

10. CODEL WAS WARMLY RECEIVED BY THE HUNGARIANS WHO WENT OUT OF THEIR WAY TO PREPARE A PROGRAM THAT MET CODEL'S WISHES, SENATOR MCGOVERN HAD ACCESS TO THE TOP HUNGARIAN LEADERS IN BUDAPEST AT THE TIME OF HIS VISIT. DESPITE THE HOLIDAY SEASON AND THE FACT THAT THREE CODELS VISITED BUDAPEST WITHIN A TEN-DAY SPAN, FONOFF HAS MADE IT CLEAR THAT GOH WELCOMES CODELS WHENEVER THEY FIND IT CONVENIENT TO COME TO HUNGARY.  
KAISER

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## Message Attributes

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